

EMPIRE DAY

Manitoba's Diamond Jubilee

1870 - 1930

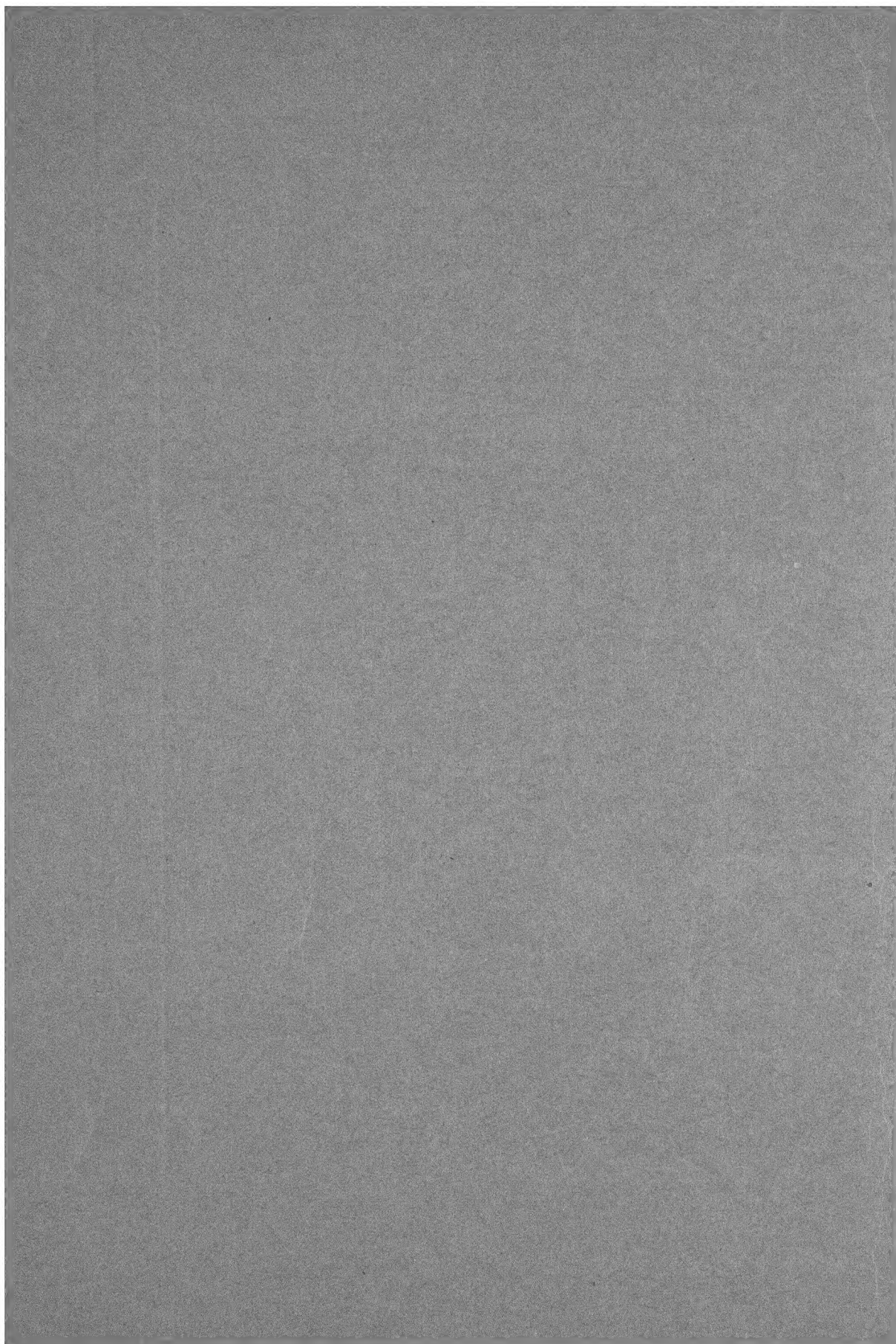


Where'er Endeavor bares her arm
And grapples with the Things To Be,
At desk or counter, forge or farm,
On veldt or prairie, land or sea,
And men press onward, undismayed,
The Empire Builder plies his trade.

—Robert Stead



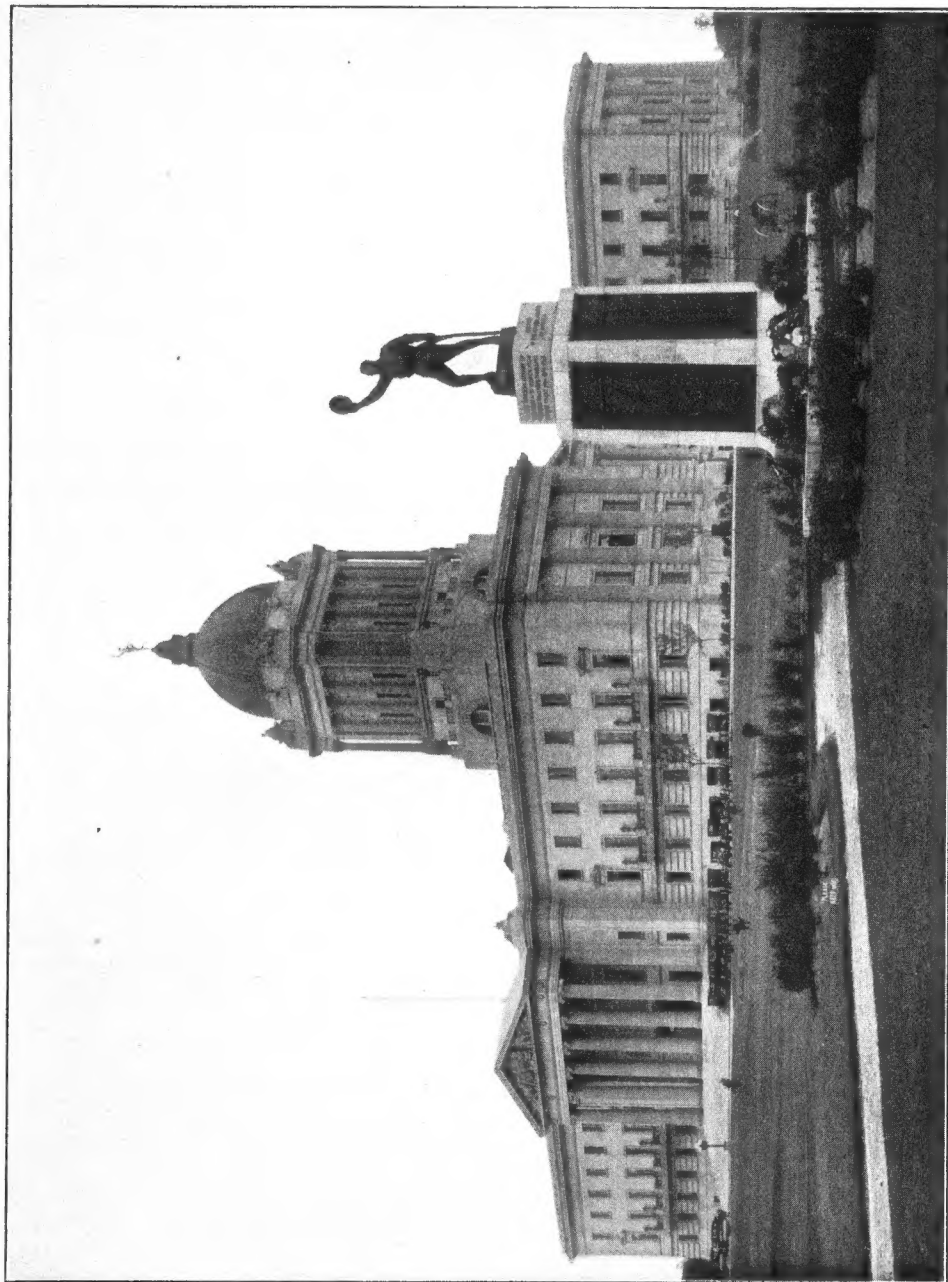
Department of Education
WINNIPEG, CANADA



MANITOBA'S DIAMOND JUBILEE



1870 - 1930



MANITOBA'S LEGISLATIVE BUILDINGS, FORMALLY OPENED JULY 15TH, 1920

To the Teachers



The public school teachers of Manitoba are naturally looking forward to the Empire Day exercises of this year with more than ordinary interest. Manitoba celebrates this year, its Diamond Jubilee as the central province of the Canadian Confederation. The provincial celebration, commemorative of this year, will take place on the fifteenth of July.

There are few stories more romantic than the history of Manitoba. The growth and development of its institutions, the adventurous spirits of its pioneers, the position of the Province in Confederation and in the Empire, will all receive due emphasis in the programmes arranged for Empire Day.

It is the intention of this booklet to narrate in simple language certain major events in the history of the province. It is our hope that in this history the youth of Manitoba may find material sufficient to stir the imagination and stimulate pride in the achievements of the men and women who laid the foundation of a new civilization in this western country.



Minister of Education



Deputy Minister

Give Us Men



Give us men!
Men from every rank,
Fresh and free and frank;
Men of thought and reading,
Men of light and leading,
Men of royal breeding,
The nation's welfare speeding,
Men of faith and not of faction,
Men of lofty aim in action,
Give us men—I say again,
Give us men !

Give us men—
Men, who, when the tempest gathers,
Grasp the standard of their fathers,
In the thickest fight;
Men who strike for home and altar
(Let the coward cringe and falter!)
God defend the right !
True as truth, though low and lonely,
Tender as the brave are only,
Men who tread where saints have trod,
Men for country, home and God;
Give us men—I say again,
Give us men !

Give us men !
Strong and stalwart ones.
Men whom highest hope inspires,
Men whom purest honour fires,
Men who trample self beneath them,
Men who make their country wreath them,
As her noble sons,
Worthy of their sires !
Men who never shame their mothers,
Men who never fail their brothers,
True, however false all others,
Give us men—I say again,
Give us men !

—Bishop of Exeter.

Empire Day, May 23rd

SUGGESTED PROGRAMME *Manitoba's Diamond Jubilee of Confederation*

1. THE RAISING OF THE UNION JACK AND THE SINGING OF

GOD SAVE THE KING

God save our gracious King,
Long live our noble King,
God save the King:
Send him victorious,
Happy and glorious,
Long to reign over us;
God save the King.

2. ADDRESS: "Manitoba Day, July Fifteenth" - - BY THE CHAIRMAN

3. TABLEAU: "Manitoba's Entry into Confederation"

Heading --First Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba: 1870.

At back of stage, near centre—Canoe and French metis, canoeemen who brought Lieutenant-Governor and his secretary from Pembina.

In front and towards one side—Lieutenant-Governor, Hon. Adams G. Archibald, accompanied by his secretary, reading the proclamation of the Canadian Government.

In front and towards other side—Group of settlers in characteristic garb to represent Selkirk Settlers, French Half-breeds (metis), Indians, Irish, Americans, Canadians (Ontario), hearing the proclamation.

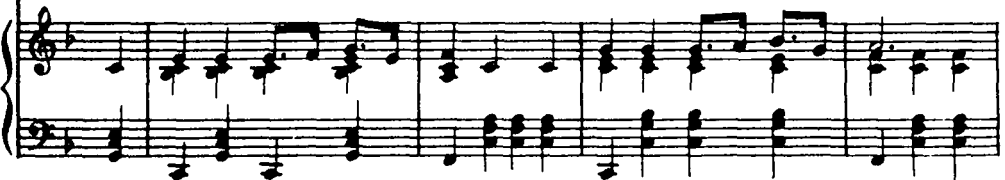
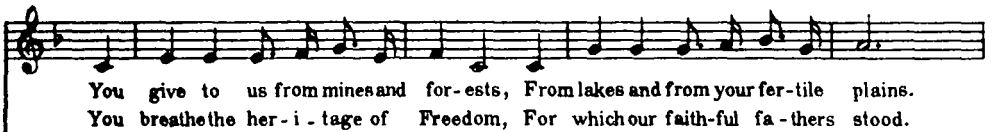
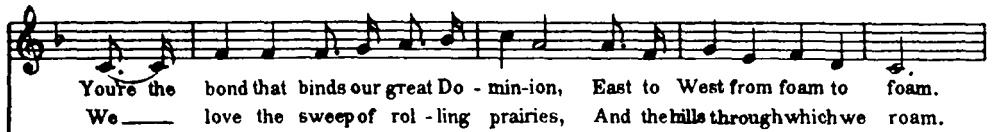
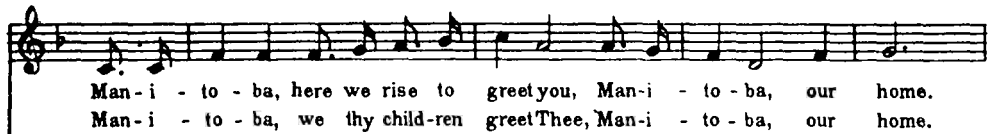
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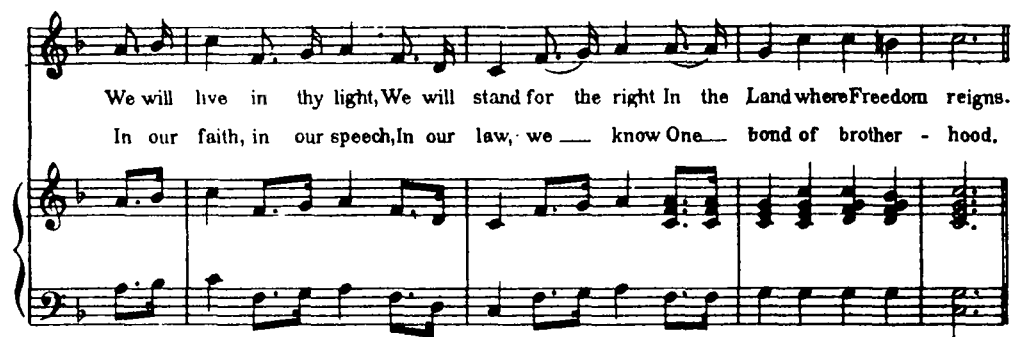
PATRIOTIC FLAG DRILL

4. SONG: "Manitoba"—(Music and Words on Pages 6 and 7).

MANITOBA

Words and Music by
JONATHAN HUGHES ARNETT



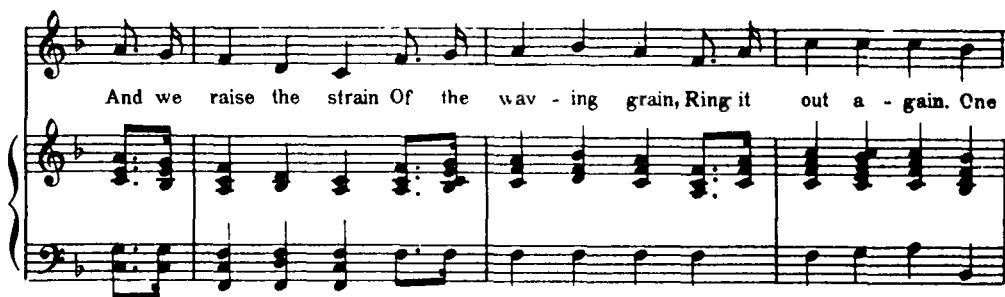


We will live in thy light, We will stand for the right In the Land where Freedom reigns.
In our faith, in our speech, In our law, we — know One — bond of brother - hood.

REFRAIN



For we all love our Man-i - to - ba, Man-i - to - ba, our homes so dear,



And we raise the strain Of the wav - ing grain, Ring it out a - gain. One



chor-us strong and clear.

5. READING PRIZE ESSAY ON EITHER OF THE FOLLOWING TOPICS:

- (a) Pioneers of the Local Community.
- (b) The History of the Local Community.

Let the stories of the Local Community Builders be told on this Empire Day.

6. PATRIOTIC SONG.

7. TABLEAU AND READINGS DESCRIPTIVE OF PIONEER LIFE AT RED RIVER.

TABLEAU

SCENES FROM PIONEER LIFE

- 1. A man broadcasting seed from a bag tied round his neck.
- 2. A man mowing his grain with a scythe or cradle, followed by a woman binding up the grain by hand.
- 3. A woman sitting at a spinning wheel and spinning.
- 4. A trapper and fur trader would also be good.

Care should be taken that these people are dressed according to 1870 ideas.

READINGS

selected from such books as the following:

WOMEN OF THE RED RIVER—*Healy* (Russell, Lang & Co.).
THE RED RIVER COLONY—*Wood*, in "Chronicles of Canada."
MANITOBA MILESTONES—*Margaret McWilliams* (Dent & Sons).
LORD SELKIRK'S WORK IN CANADA—*Chester Martin* (Oxford Press).
LIFE OF FATHER LACOMBE—*Katherine Hughes*. (McClelland & Stewart).

8. PATRIOTIC SONG.

9. ADDRESS BY LOCAL RESIDENT ON PROGRESS IN MANITOBA SINCE JULY 15TH, 1870.

10. TABLEAUX AND READINGS DESCRIPTIVE OF SCHOOL LIFE.

TABLEAUX

SCHOOLS' CONTRIBUTION TO MODERN LIFE

Central figure (Spirit of Education), young woman, robed appropriately (red), lamp in hand, raised on dais.

Four corner groups: 1, Business group—farmer, merchant, lawyer, nurse. 2, Sports—football, hockey, etc. 3, Assimilation—New Canadians. 4, Leisure—Person reading, music.

EDUCATION: PAST AND PRESENT

Two school rooms—(1) Pre-Confederation, (2) Diamond Jubilee.

(1) Room, rough interior, unpainted bench, rough table, painted board for blackboard, slates on desks, switch and primer on table. Two pupils (boy and girl), rough clothes, barefoot, girl with pigtailed. Teacher, period clothes, or old soldier.

(2) Room, white, cheery interior; single desks, teacher's desk, Confederation picture on wall and health mottoes, globes, exercise book, hyloplate blackboard, library, radiator if possible, or coal-oil stove for lunch. Pupils, modern dressing, alert and interested. Teacher, up-to-date in dress and manner.

READINGS

(Passages selected from the article on "Manitoba" in this booklet.)

11.

O CANADA

O Canada! Our Home and Native Land!
True patriot-love in all thy sons command.

With glowing hearts we see thee rise,
The True North, strong and free,
And stand on guard, O Canada,
We stand on guard for thee.

O Canada, glorious and free!

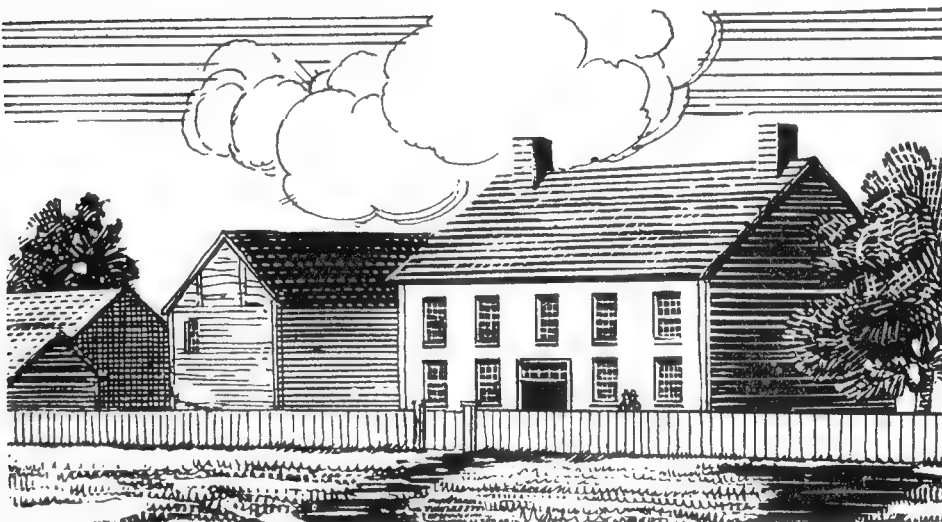
We stand on guard, we stand on guard for
thee!

O Canada, we stand on guard for thee!

O Canada! Terre de nos aïeux,
Ton front est ceint de fleurons glorieux:
Car ton bras sait porter l'épée,
Il sait porter la croix;
Ton histoire est une épopée
Des plus brillants exploits
Et ta valeur, de foi trempée,
Protégera nos foyers et nos droits,
Protégera nos foyers et nos droits.



THE OLD LEGISLATIVE BUILDINGS, KENNEDY STREET



MANITOBA'S FIRST PARLIAMENT BUILDING, MARCH 15TH, 1871, TO DECEMBER 3RD, 1873

Manitoba Enters Confederation

(By S. E. Lang, M.A.)

The 1st of July is the Sixty-third Anniversary of the foundation of the Canadian Dominion and the Fifteenth of the same month is the Sixtieth Anniversary of the entrance of Manitoba into the Confederation. In 1867 the new Dominion began its career with the federative union of the three Provinces of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. The old Province of Canada was at that time a Legislative Union composed of Upper Canada and Lower Canada, and for the purposes of Confederation it was divided into two. Thus in the new Dominion there were four distinct Provinces, each with its own legislature, Ontario, formerly Upper Canada; Quebec, formerly Lower Canada; New Brunswick; Nova Scotia. Since that day of beginnings five provinces have been added, and as the history of the Dominion is the history of the gradual expansion of Canada eastward and westward it is desirable that Canadians, and especially the newer generation of Canadians, should be acquainted with the facts connected with that expansion.

I.

THE circumstances and incidents attending the creation of the Province of Manitoba have sometimes been related in a manner tending to cause misunderstanding, prejudice, and even ill-will between east and west and between the two great races which inhabit the Dominion. A few facts out of historical perspective, a few unsupported myths, along with some unsound legal and constitutional doctrine have given an unfortunate bias to the opinions of not a few. The mists of prejudice which confused and distorted the vision of contending parties two generations ago have been partially dispelled, but old beliefs and legends, true or false, are notoriously hard to eradicate. The statements that are to follow in this brief sketch, if presented without explanatory comment and supporting evidence in the official records of the transactions, would probably fail to convince those who have fixed ideas on the subject. One of the first steps towards national unity and national amity, however, is an understanding of the actual facts of our history as a Dominion. When some erroneous ideas are revised we may hope to achieve much in the way of better feeling and a sounder appreciation of the qualities and aspirations and points of view of our fellow citizens.

The early history of Canada as a Dominion, particularly the first movement towards western expansion, furnishes a striking illustration of the evil effects of racial and religious prejudice, but the events which led to the entry of the District of Assiniboia into the newly-formed Dominion are now far in the past and it is desirable to consider them without bias or prepossession. With this in view it is necessary in the first place to realize that the two roots of Manitoba's history are British and French and that one connects with the British Isles in the days of the Stuarts and that the other reaches back to the Seaport of St. Malo from which Cartier sailed westward nearly four hundred years ago.

The Province of Manitoba dates from 1870. Before 1870 there was a 35-year period during which the district of Assiniboia was ruled by a Governor and a Council appointed by the Hudson's Bay Company. This

35-year period may be regarded as the Golden Age of the Red River Settlement. A further step backward takes us to the 23-year period from 1812 to 1835 during which the settlers were engaged in a veritable struggle for existence. It was the era of conflict between the rival fur companies, the Hudson's Bay Company and the North-West Company. The Scottish settlers who were trying to establish homes for themselves at Red River were the chief sufferers in this rivalry. Prior to the advent of the Scottish colonists the Red River country had been, ever since 1738, the stamping ground of French and French half-breed traders, hunters and voyageurs. On the 24th of September, 1738, the great La Verendrye, the first white man to look upon the site of the future capital of Manitoba reached the Forks of the Assiniboine where he found encamped on the banks of the river ten Cree lodges and two chiefs. La Verendrye was there to build forts and trade in furs in competition with the men of the Hudson's Bay Company who had held the country under a charter from King Charles the Second since 1670.

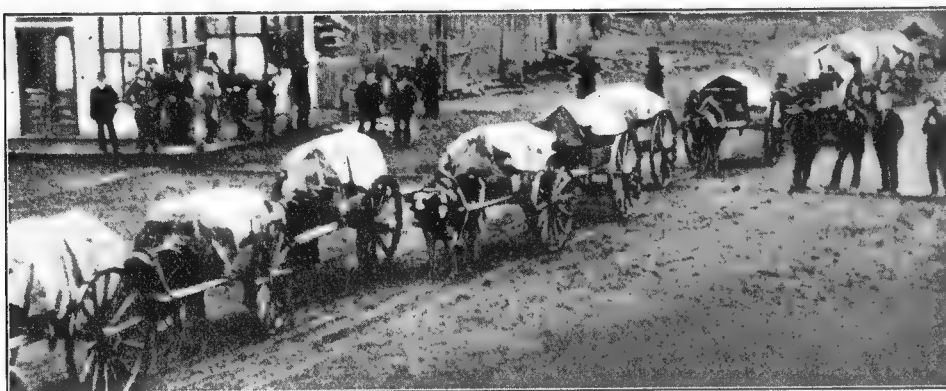
It is worth while noting at this point the fact that over the country now known as the Prairie Provinces, the British flag has waved ever since 1670. From an Imperial point of view that territory is older than any other part of the present Dominion of Canada. The Charter, as is well known, conferred large powers upon the Company. They possessed exclusive rights of trade over vast extent of country, all the lands indeed whose rivers flowed into the Hudson's Bay.

For nearly forty years the mixed race which sprang from the union of French and native stock lived a nomadic life like that of their forbears, hunting, trading, and fighting, but in the year 1776 they began first to build permanent habitations along the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. This settlement grew and presently began to practice a primitive agriculture. Their chief interest, however, was the chase, and the powerful North-West Company, formed in 1784 with headquarters in Canada, employed large numbers of them as hunters and voyageurs. At nearly all the important points along the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Rivers there were two rival forts, one belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company and manned and managed according to Old Country ideas, the other a fort of the Nor'-Westers representing the interest and conducted according to the ideas of men of the New World.

When, therefore, the Earl of Selkirk, early in the 19th century, having attained great power in the councils of the Hudson's Bay Company, secured from the Company a tract of country comprising 116,000 square miles along the Red and the Assiniboine Rivers and set about planting a settlement of Scots therein, he was vigorously opposed by the Canadian interests on the ground that the establishment of such a settlement would enable the Hudson's Bay Company to monopolize the trade of the country. For six years there was open war between the rival Companies. Forts were besieged and attacked, stoutly defended, carried by storm, retaken, destroyed, and rebuilt. There were plots, surprises, ambuscades, excursions and alarms, attacking of caravans and plundering of forts and posts, assassinations, skirmishes, and battles.

In 1820, however, the warring companies decided to unite their forces and were amalgamated under the name of the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1835 they repurchased the territory from the heirs of

Lord Selkirk and undertook the task of governing the country. The administration of justice was backed by the power of the sword. In 1846, 500 soldiers of the 6th Royal Regiment of Foot were under the Company's command. Two years later these troops were recalled and 140 pensioners under Major Caldwell took their place. These in turn were succeeded by the Canadian Rifles. Meantime the population grew steadily. By 1835 the Scottish settlers and Scotch and French half-breeds numbered 1,500 souls and in the late sixties there were rather more than 12,000 people in Red River of whom about 10,000 were half-breeds. Bishop Provencher and later Bishop Tache directed the activities of the clergy of the Catholic Church. The Scots settlers were looked after by the clergy of the English Church, Lord Selkirk having failed to keep his promise to send them a clergyman of their own faith. It was not until 1851 that the Scots colonists enjoyed the privilege of having their own regularly ordained minister. An era of quiet progress began. Schools had been established at an early stage. In 1859 a newspaper, the *Norwester*, began publication. A huge number of Red River carts were engaged in transporting goods to and from St. Paul and steam-boats made their appearance on the Red River.



TRAIN OF RED RIVER CARTS PASSING THROUGH PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE
EN ROUTE TO EDMONTON

II.

Three years after the formation of the Canadian Dominion the Red River settlement, hitherto governed by the Hudson's Bay Company as the District of Assiniboia, entered Confederation as the Province of Manitoba. This event with its attendant circumstances is frequently referred to in some such terms as the following: that Canada bought from the Hudson's Bay Company the territory known as Rupert's Land, and the North Western Territory for the sum of £300,000, and that when Hon. Wm. Macdougall, the governor appointed by Canada to rule over the newly acquired domain, came to assume his duties, one Louis Riel, with some hundreds of his compatriots rose in rebellion, seized Fort Garry, imprisoned a number of the loyal Canadians, murdered one of them in cold blood, and tyrannized over the settlement until Colonel Wolseley at the head of a force of regulars and volunteers from Canada made his way to Fort Garry and put down the rebellion.

Canada's purchase of Rupert's Land from the Hudson's Bay Company and the Red River Rebellion are phrases in common use and everyone finds in his memory certain more or less vivid ideas associated with the same.

The first of these matters may be disposed of very briefly. Rupert's Land and the North Western Territory did not become part of Canada by purchase from the Hudson's Bay Company. Canada acquired that country from the Crown. The transfer was effected by acts of state authorized by Imperial Statute. Nor did Canada acquire by purchase from the Hudson's Bay Company the rights, privileges, franchises, powers, and authorities enjoyed by the Company under its Charter. These rights were not acquired by Canada.

Anyone who cares to do so may read a detailed account of this transaction as set forth by Professor Martin in his study of the Historical Basis of Provincial Claims. There were, it appears, two distinct transactions. One was the surrender to the Crown of the Hudson's Bay Company's chartered rights in Rupert's Land. This was the only part of the whole affair which involved compensation. The second transaction was the cession by Imperial Order-in-Council not only of Rupert's Land, which could be ceded only after the surrender of the Hudson's Bay Company's chartered rights therein, but also of the North Western Territory which did not come under the Charter. The latter was at the disposal of the Crown and being unencumbered could be ceded by the Crown without a preliminary surrender. The sum of £300,000 was not purchase money but simply an amount agreed on as a settlement out of court to avoid the delay and costs of a legal enquiry into the Company's rights.

The matter is of some importance because the facts mentioned are the historical basis of Manitoba's claim of right in respect of her public lands which have been withheld from her by the Dominion on the ground—according to the Report of Committee of Council approved 2nd March, 1882,—that “the whole of Manitoba was acquired by purchase and thus became the property of the Dominion.” An outstanding event of this Jubilee year will be the transfer to Manitoba of her natural resources on July 15th.

In the second place, alongside of the mythical story of an impossible purchase from the Company, is the legend of a Red River Rebellion. This alliterative phrase has found a place in historical literature and hence is accepted at its face value when used in ordinary conversation or in political or historical articles in the public press quite as readily as if it denoted an undisputed historical fact. Anyone, however, who takes the trouble to acquaint himself with the real facts as set forth in the official public documents of the time can satisfy himself that there was no “Rebellion” in Red River in 1869 or 1870.

In 1869 William Macdougall, who with George Cartier had negotiated in London the transfer of Rupert's Land, set out from Ottawa carrying with him full authority to take over from the Hudson's Bay Governor, William McTavish, the government of the North West, of which he was to be Lieutenant-Governor. His appointment, dated 29th September, was made in anticipation of the formal transfer which was expected to take place on the 1st of December. Mr. Macdougall had, some months earlier, sent into Red River a company of Canadian

engineers and surveyors with instructions to run meridians, lay out certain townships, and build some roads. This was a most unwise act on the part of the government of Canada, which as yet had no authority in the West. Louis Riel, at the head of some twenty men, requested the surveyors to stop their work. The surveyors refused to discontinue but were prevented from going on by the half-breeds, who used no violence but stood on the chain and so prevented its being used. The surveyors then withdrew and lodged a complaint with McTavish. The Governor, however willing or unwilling he might be to afford the protection asked for by the visitors from Canada, was quite unable to do anything for them. The British government had a few years before committed the serious blunder of withdrawing the troops from a country just on the eve of a change of political relations. If the Canadian government and the British government had conspired together to do things in the worst possible way, they could hardly have been more successful. The Hon. Joseph Howe was in the settlement at the moment on a visit



STORE ON BANNATYNE AVENUE

to find out what he could of the new domain to be added to Canada. He was Secretary of State for the Provinces and wished to see for himself. Obviously it was his duty to set at rest any fears or doubts in the minds of the people regarding the transfer and the incident of the survey. There is nothing in the records to show that he held any public meetings to address the uneasy and suspicious inhabitants. He confined himself to private interviews with the settlers up and down the river and about the Fort. A few months before at the urgent request of Sir John A Macdonald and Dr. Tupper he had joined the Government with a view to making a success of Confederation, which he had up to the time of its accomplishment opposed with all his undoubtedly great powers. On his return from Red River to Canada by way of St. Paul he met Macdougall coming northward, but in the brief hour during which they conversed he did not think it necessary to give the new Governor any warning as to the feelings and attitude of the people.

Within a few days of Howe's departure Riel with the assistance of his followers erected a barricade across the trail at St. Norbert, a few miles south of Fort Garry. On the 21st of October Macdougall arrived at Pembina where he was met by a messenger from the French forbidding him to enter the territory. It was couched in the following terms:

A Monsieur W. Macdougall.
Monsieur:—

Le Comité National des Métis de la Rivière Rouge intime à Monsieur W. Macdougall l'ordre de ne pas entrer sur le Territoire du Nord-Ouest sans une permission spéciale de ce Comité.

Par ordre du Président.

JOHN BRUCE.
LOUIS RIEL, Secrétaire.

Daté à St. Norbert, Rivière Rouge,
Ce 21^e jour d'Octobre, 1869.

When a few days later he did enter and advanced a few miles to the Hudson's Bay Company's Post, Ambroise Lépine, commanding a party of men with arms in their hands compelled him to retire, escorted him to the boundary, and forbade him to recross it. He was thus forced to take up his quarters in a small hut on American soil.

In the meantime Governor McTavish had summoned Mr. Riel to meet the Council of Assiniboia and advised him of the serious nature of the course he was pursuing. The Council urged him to desist and send his men home. He declined to take this advice, however, and the number of his adherents having increased considerably, on the 2nd of November he entered Fort Garry with 120 men and posted guards. A few days later he published a notice to the inhabitants of Rupert's Land inviting them to send representatives to consider the present state of the country and adopt measures for the future welfare of the same. In response to this invitation 24 delegates, 12 English-speaking and 12 French, representing all parts of Red River, assembled at Fort Garry on the 16th of November. This, then, was the situation in the middle of November, 1869; the Canadian Governor Macdougall at Pembina very uncomfortably housed along with his family and staff; Riel and his force in possession of Fort Garry; the Hudson's Bay Governor, who was in very poor health, residing in his own quarters in the Fort; and a representative Convention at work considering the state of the country.

At this stage it will be helpful to mention briefly the several groups composing the population and explain their attitude towards the question of uniting with Canada. The Hudson's Bay Officials were greatly disturbed and discontented over their treatment by the Supreme Council at London. The burden of the work of the Company had always been borne by the officials resident in Rupert's Land and it seemed now as if they were to receive no share of the compensation money. They were either indifferent to the proposal to unite with Canada or actively antagonistic. The Scottish settlers were not much interested in Canada. Many of them would have preferred a Crown Colony. They were on good terms with their French neighbours and desired to maintain friendly relations with them. Like the French they resented the actions of the Canadians in invading the country and marching over their farms with measuring instruments. The French were the active party. They feared that their farms, long narrow lots fronting on the river, would be broken up and their homes destroyed.

They looked upon themselves as the natural owners of the soil. A majority of them favoured Riel. The latter had as an adviser and friend the Rev. Father Ritchot, parish priest of St. Norbert. There was a small Irish-American-Fenian party who wanted annexation to the United States. They were pushing, active, noisy, and influential to a degree out of all proportion to their numbers or their worth.

There was a party known as the Canadian party. These were new comers from Canada. Dr. Schultz, afterwards Sir John Schultz, at one time a Senator, and later Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, was the chief figure in this group. Schultz was untiring in his opposition to the Hudson's Bay Company and ardent in his advocacy of union with Canada.

III.

The address of Mr. Wm. McTavish, the Governor of Assiniboia, on the first day of the Convention was clearly intended to serve at once as the official Speech from the Throne and as a Proclamation to the whole



TOWING YORK BOATS OVER THE RAPIDS

body of the people. It deserves to be studied for its literary composition as well as for its very remarkable moderation of tone. He chides certain persons who have interfered with travel and trade by barricading the road and stopping the mails." He says that while the party occupying the Fort have committed no act of violence there, yet they have created a state of excitement and alarm which interferes with the regular business of the establishment. He speaks, apparently more in sorrow than in anger, of the expulsion of certain "gentlemen from Canada" from the territory at a time when the rigours of winter are at hand. He says that these proceedings were unlawful and advises those who were concerned in them to go quietly to their homes under pain and penalty of the law before they become irretrievably and hopelessly involved. It is clear from his final words, however, that he has confidence that they will not become hopelessly involved for he ends his address by adjuring the members of its Convention that in dealing with a crisis "out of which may come incalculable good or immeasur-

able evil," they should adopt only such means as were lawful, and constitutional, rational and safe. The Governor thus urged the elected representatives of the country "with all the weight of my official authority and all the influence of my individual position," to proceed in their deliberations with due regard to law and the constitution and thus gave an official sanction to their meeting. In point of fact, during the month of November the convention was asked to consider whether a provisional Government should be formed. The English delegates declined to discuss this proposal because they had no instructions from their constituents on the point. They approved the idea of continuing the Company's government in the meantime and advised sending a delegation to hear Mr. Macdougall as to what he proposed to do if allowed to enter. A Bill of Rights—the first list—was prepared and passed on the first of December. At this stage an unwise action by Macdougall threw the settlement into confusion and alarm.

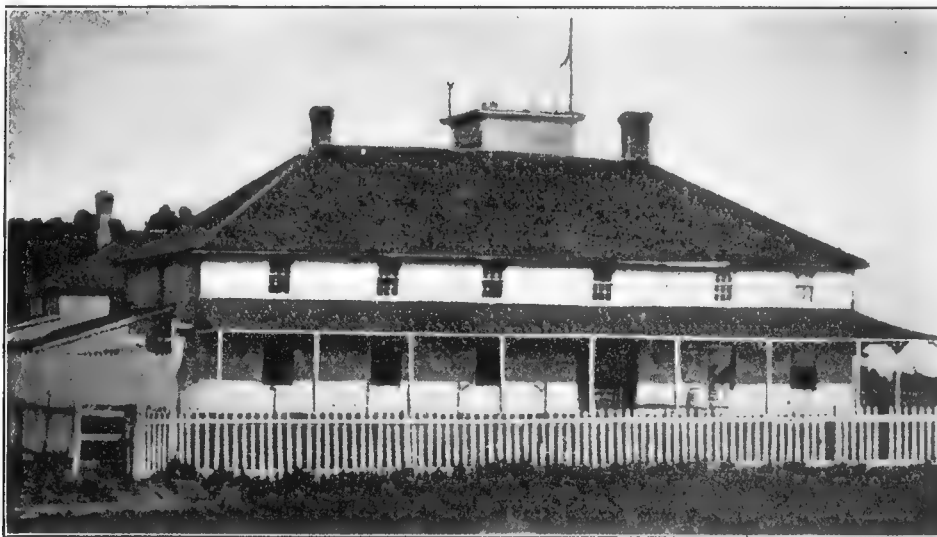
Believing that according to arrangement the transfer would take place on the 1st of December and that his commission naturally came into effect on that date,—it must be remembered that he was several hundred miles away from a telegraph line—Mr. Macdougall issued one Proclamation announcing himself as Governor and another appointing Colonel John Stoughton Dennis, his chief surveyor, as his Lieutenant and Conservator of the Peace and ordering him to recruit and arm a force of citizens to put down all opposition to his authority. Col. Dennis with the help of Captain Boulton enrolled some companies in the parishes and one of these, composed almost exclusively of members of the Canadian party, quartered themselves in a warehouse belonging to Dr. Schultz where certain government stores were kept. A few days later Riel besieged the place. The Canadians were short of food and water. They were compelled to surrender and were imprisoned in the Fort to the number of 60.

By the 7th of December it became clear to Dennis that he could not get the support he wanted. The people had begun to be suspicious of the genuineness of Macdougall's authority. Riel had treated the Proclamation with open contempt. Any lingering hope which Colonel Dennis may have cherished at this stage was completely dispelled by a letter which he received from the Bishop of Rupert's Land who had been for several years a member of Governor McTavish's Council. His Lordship strongly advised the Colonel to give up the idea of attacking Fort Garry, as the result could only be disastrous. Warfare once begun was likely to be such that victory would only be less fatal to the settlement and the interests of Canada than a defeat, and the forces opposed to Dennis were now, he believed, quite a match for all that could be brought together against them. Everything was to be gained from delay rather than violent action. What was wanted from Mr. Macdougall was a more conciliatory attitude. The latter should set forth plainly how the Government was to be conducted and give a promise that grievances would be generously considered. The Bishop, of course, was fervently loyal to the Queen and moreover declared that he had unquestioning confidence in the management of Canada, but he pointed out in his letter that he himself had not been made acquainted with any details of the character or policy of Mr. Macdougall's proposed government. It was a time for explanations and conciliation rather than violence. His advice to Colonel Dennis was that he should be quiet and do nothing, as only evil was to be apprehended from action.

Dennis ordered the Companies to disband and cease from action and made his way to Pembina. A week later Macdougall and he set out for Canada via St. Paul.

This proved to be the end of Macdougall's public career. He had occupied a considerable place in public life. He had been the chief advocate of westward expansion. Many of his colleagues in the Government were indifferent and some hostile. But with the help of George Cartier he had conducted and completed in England the difficult negotiations for the transfer. He was forward-looking, patriotic, public-spirited, but he was impatient, he was not conciliatory or accommodating in his mental attitudes. He maintained to the end of his life that he had not been fairly treated by Joseph Howe.

Mr. Riel's position was now strongly established. His men were well supplied with food from the Hudson's Bay Company stores. The



THE OLD ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE BOYS' SCHOOL

formidable Canadian party was in prison under guard. The sum of £1,090/4/0 taken from the Company's safe had supplied Riel with necessary means of carrying on, and the settlement was quiet and peaceful.

IV.

During Christmas week there came to the Fort two travellers, the older of whom, a man nearly 50 years of age, asked permission to see Governor McTavish. He was brought before Mr. Riel. On being asked his name he said his name was Smith and that he had just arrived from Canada. What was his business? He was an officer of the Company. He intimated also that he had a commission from the Canadian Government and that he would produce his credentials in due course. Mr. Smith and his brother-in-law, Mr. Richard Hardisty, were given quarters in the fort. The former was placed under guard, the latter allowed to come and go as he pleased.

Donald Smith had been sent from Ottawa by Sir John Macdonald with instructions and full powers to do whatever he thought necessary to put an end to the Red River troubles. With characteristic caution the emissary left his papers in safe hands at Pembina. In a little over two weeks Mr. Smith had by one means and another so wrought upon the feelings and views of the French and Scottish settlers that on the 14th of January, Mr. Riel, who was well aware of the trend of opinion and sentiment, went to Mr. Smith and asked for a conference.

How had Mr. Smith managed to effect this remarkable change in the situation? In the simplest manner possible. He was not free to leave the Fort but he had frequent visits from the chief men of the settlement and through them he was able to make known to the people at large the pacific and benevolent intentions of the Canadian government. Mr. Hardisty also was very active. Himself a half-breed, it was comparatively easy to secure the confidence of the natives. To some of them he held the language of pure reason, he pleaded with some, he made promises in other cases, and in still others he uttered warnings. After consultation Mr. Riel agreed to call a general meeting of the inhabitants of the country at which Mr. Smith would produce his papers and explain his commission. Hardisty went to Pembina for the papers and brought them in safely under a strong guard.

More than 1,000 settlers of Red River assembled within the courtyard of Fort Garry on the 19th of January. The English-speaking portion of the gathering was neither armed nor organized. The French were both armed and organized. It sometimes happens that a number of persons meet together in comfortable surroundings to discuss and vote upon abstract academic theories and resolutions which in the result have but little concrete effect upon the lives, liberties, or actions of any of them. Even under the favourable physical conditions usually surrounding a debating society such matters are sometimes debated with acrimony and violence. In this case the practical issues at stake were vitally important to every man on the ground. Failure to reach a decision would almost certainly increase the present difficulties of the country and an unwise one might possibly plunge the settlement into fratricidal strife. An over-zealous orator, a misunderstood phrase or allusion, an angry rejoinder, a wrong spirit chafing under an imagined affront, the possibilities were infinite. Here were one thousand men, the vast majority in their very prime, all of them used from childhood, to the activities of pioneer life in a primitive civilization, nearly all of them inured to the hardships and dangers of the chase. The great majority were of that firm texture of mind to be found in men acquainted with Indian warfare on the plains. Many of them bore hard-won reputations as great hunters and mighty men of valour in the day of battle with the Sioux. They were not of one political opinion, they differed in religion as well as language, some of them were educated, some of them had but little more than the rudiments of education, and some were illiterate. Some no doubt were by habit and inclination believers in the right of the strongest. The moral atmosphere was in a high state of tension, full of possibilities of conflict.

The physical temperature was low enough in all conscience. It was bitterly cold, the glass showing more than 50 degrees of frost. Many dramatic incidents occurred during the meeting, which continued for two days. But the peace was kept and in the end after much animated

debate and several exciting verbal encounters it was decided that a convention of delegates, 40 in all, should be elected by the several parishes to consider what was to be done under Mr. Smith's commission.

The convention of 40 met on the 25th of January and sat until the 10th of February. A provisional Government was formed. The Scotch were doubtful and hesitant over this step as they desired to keep on the safe side of the law. Their scruples were set at rest by Governor McTavish who conferred upon them the legal authority and right with the emphatic and historic words; "Form a Government for God's sake and keep peace and order in the settlement." Delegates were appointed to go to Canada on the invitation of the Canadian Government to arrange for the entry of Assiniboia into the Dominion. A number of the Canadian prisoners were released and Mr. Riel engaged to discharge the remainder in a day or two.



OLD ST. JOHN'S CATHEDRAL

V.

Riel was now at the height of his power, his government was established and recognized, and all prospects were bright, when an event occurred which produced most disastrous results.

A number of Canadian settlers living at Portage la Prairie, ignorant of the good prospects at Fort Garry and sympathizing strongly with their fellow-countrymen lying in prison in the Fort, resolved to invade the Red River country under Captain Boulton and liberate the prisoners. It was expected that Dr. Schultz, who had escaped from Fort Garry, would in the meantime collect a force from the lower parishes. A junction was to be effected, and Fort Garry was to be surprised and taken by storm at dawn.

For sheer pluck and determination the conduct of the Portage volunteers deserves the highest praise. They performed a journey of

50 miles on foot in hard winter weather. They were but indifferently armed. A few had rifles, shotguns, or revolvers. Others had primitive and improvised weapons, some being armed simply with clubs. When they reached Headingly, 12 miles west of Winnipeg, their plans were deranged by a blizzard which delayed them and made their proposed surprise of the garrison impossible. Under cover of night they got to Kildonan, three miles north of the Fort, and were billeted in the Parish Church. Dr. Schultz brought up some hundreds of men from the lower settlements, and from the combined force a message was sent to Riel demanding the release of all the remaining prisoners and informing him that in case of refusal the Fort would be attacked. Riel set the prisoners free, and the object of the rising having been accomplished, the majority of the settlers returned to their homes at once. Next day the Portage Party, however, instead of dispersing, marched in a body towards Headingly. They were intercepted near Fort Garry by a strong force under Ambroise Lépine, captured, and imprisoned in the Fort in the quarters just vacated by the other prisoners.

Captain Boulton was sentenced to death. The time was fixed for his execution upon the next day. Only after the most strenuous exertions on the part of Donald Smith and some prominent members of the community would Riel consent to a reprieve of one week on condition that Smith and Archdeacon MacLean would proceed to the parishes and induce the settlers to go forward with the election of delegates, so as to procure, in Riel's words, "their just rights as British subjects." Smith and MacLean were successful in their mission to the parishes, Boulton's life was spared, the elections took place, and Riel promised to release the prisoners in few days.

It was now Riel's turn to commit a serious blunder. Hitherto he had managed his affairs with much skill, ability, and insight. He had succeeded in forming a government and in maintaining order in very exceptional and difficult circumstances in a country inhabited by a heterogeneous population of agriculturists, partially civilized hunters and warriors of mixed blood, restless Indian tribes, recent immigrants from Canada, and filibustering adventurers from the States. He was only 25 years of age.

On the 3rd of March one of his prisoners, Thomas Scott, who had escaped from prison in January, and who had fled to Portage and joined the Portage expedition, was tried by court-martial for violence and insubordination. He was charged with having threatened and quarrelled with his guards, resisting and striking them. He was found guilty and sentenced to be shot. The sentence was duly carried out the next day outside the walls of the Fort in spite of all entreaties, in the presence of a large crowd of horrified spectators.

Attempts have been made to excuse Riel for this act on the ground that he was the accredited head of the only government in the country and that it was necessary to put an end to the plots and agitations against the government. Certain it is that from this time forward no attempt was made against his rule. There was profound peace in Red River thereafter. No more blood was spilt in the settlement during his regime. But it is generally agreed that the execution of Scott was both cruel and unnecessary. It was moreover a colossal blunder. Few events in Canadian history have produced more disastrous results. It has been

called a murder. Upon that point the lawyers will have to be consulted. There has been much controversy as to Riel's government and the limits of its power in a constitutional sense.

Riel made every effort to seize Schultz after the Kildonan rising, but the astute and wary Doctor had more than a day's start of his pursuers. Accompanied by a capable and resourceful guide, Monkman by name, he set out on snow-shoes to cross the many weary miles of rough and inhospitable Arctic wilderness which lay between Red River and Lake Superior. The fugitives, very footsore and leg-weary, snow-blind, gaunt with hunger and physical strain, succeeded in reaching Duluth, very nearly exhausted. It was a terrible journey over an immense distance with insufficient rations, undertaken in the depth of an hyperborean winter. These indomitable men had struggled on from one bitter day to another, buffeted by wind and wintry tempest, tortured by the blinding glare of the sun reflected from the glazed surface of the crusted snow, building their nightly fire in the shelter of a friendly grove of trees, and making their nightly bed under the open sky.



THE OLD ST. BONIFACE CATHEDRAL AND CONVENT

An equally arduous and hazardous, though perhaps less known, exploit was that of the late Dr. Charles Mair, the veteran poet, who with infinite labour and difficulty made his way with dogs across the wind-swept plains from Portage la Prairie to St. Paul.

When Schultz and Mair arrived in Canada with the news of what had occurred in Red River, the public in the St. Lawrence Valley were aroused to the highest pitch of interest. The anger and resentment created as the result of the death of Scott was so deep and general, particularly in Ontario, as to overshadow nearly every other feature of the disturbances.

VI.

Donald Smith presently returned to Canada, his mission accomplished. The Red River delegates later proceeded to Ottawa and conferred with the Canadian Ministers. The Manitoba Act was the result

of this conference but the Canadian authorities refused to regard it as subject to confirmation by the Provisional Government. It contained a clause providing for grants of lands for the half-breeds. It contained another providing for federal control of Provincial lands which practically reduced Manitoba to the rank of a colony. A new Governor, A. G. Archibald, of Nova Scotia, was appointed. Col. Wolseley performed his remarkable feat of carrying his expeditionary force from Canada to Red River. It was Riel's desire and plan that as Wolseley approached the Fort, he himself should draw up his men in an open space on the plain to the East of the Fort as a guard of honour to salute the troops and give them welcome. Riel, however, could not prevail upon his men to adopt this plan and in his own words, "for lack of harmony nothing was done."

When Wolseley arrived at last Riel's followers were but few in number. A quarter of an hour before he reached the fort Riel was warned that his life was in danger, and he decided to retire. He crossed the river to St. Boniface and watched the entry of the troops into the deserted Fort. A few days later Archibald, the new Governor, arrived and took charge of affairs, Manitoba as a political entity having begun its Provincial career on the 15th of the previous month, July, 1870.

But for the blunder, or crime, or both, of executing Scott, Riel would without doubt have had a career of some distinction. He might have been the first premier of Manitoba. At one stage of the proceedings Sir John Macdonald in a letter to Sir John Rose intimated that as there was no place vacant in the Dominion Ministry they might make him a Senator. One year later Riel, Lépine, and other leaders of the French party offered their services to Archibald to assist in repelling the threatened Fenian Invasion. The offer was accepted. They accordingly raised a body of some two hundred armed and mounted men. The Governor reviewed these troops, shook hands with Riel, thanked him for his public spirit and loyalty, and employed the men in the brief campaign which followed.

It should be tolerably clear, however, that the term Red River "Rebellion" as applied to the course of events in the Red River Country in 1869-70 is inaccurate, misleading, and unjust. Sir John Macdonald, Premier of Canada at the time, was well aware that the Red River people were 'not in arms against the Queen's authority, but only in opposition to the entry of the Canadians.'" Mr. William Macdougall admits in a letter to Riel that the latter acknowledges his allegiance to the Queen. Riel himself repeatedly declared that he and his friends were British subjects striving to secure British rights. He flew the Union Jack over Fort Garry and when the Fenian-Americans attempted to remove it he stationed Andre Nault, one of his trusted lieutenants, at the foot of the flag staff with instructions to shoot anyone who interfered with it.

But is it not true that there was a Red River Expedition, a military force sent into the West, under the command of that good soldier, Sir Garnet Wolseley, and does not that prove that there must have been Rebellion in Red River? There was a Red River Expedition and a gallant expedition it was, but the mission of Garnet Wolseley was one of peace. It was only on the express condition that reasonable terms should be granted to the Red River settlers that Britain agreed to co-

operate with Canada in restoring order. It was part of Earl Granville's instructions to Sir Clinton Murdock that the troops should not be employed in forcing the sovereignty of Canada upon the population, should they refuse to submit to it. Moreover, Granville informed Sir John Young, the then Governor-General of Canada, that the Canadian Government must accept the decision of the Home Government on disputed points in the Settlers' Bill of Rights.

Nor was Riel a rebel against the Hudson's Bay Company. On the contrary when he formed his Provisional Government in February it was not merely with the consent but at the earnest solicitation of the Governor. That he was a rebel against Canada no one would attempt to maintain. Canada until July, 1870, had no more authority in Rupert's Land than she has to-day in Newfoundland or New South Wales or the Kingdom of Fife.



OLD PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH AND MANSE (SEVEN MILES BELOW FORT GARRY)

It is well known that Riel greatly desired that Red River should be received into Confederation as a Province rather than as a Territory, but he was unable in spite of the most strenuous efforts to make his views prevail in the Convention, and his motion was voted down on the 4th of February, 1870.

When the List of Rights was complete Donald Smith on behalf of the Ottawa Government went over them one by one in the presence of the Convention and gave assurances that full and substantial justice would be done in all cases.

In direct opposition to the expressed desire of the Red River Convention, Assiniboia was refused Territorial standing. It was also refused full Provincial status but was placed in a position of subordination to the rest of Canada. The new Province was denied the control of the public lands and natural resources.

Manitoba was frequently referred to during its earlier days as the "Postage Stamp Province." The appropriateness of this description may be judged from the fact that in its original form it comprised an area of about 100 miles by 135, being about half the size of New Brunswick, a little smaller than Switzerland or Denmark, or about twice the size of the Principality of Wales. A line drawn about the latitude of Oak Point and Winnipeg Beach was the north boundary. The southern boundary was, of course, the 49th degree of north latitude and it extended northward as far as 50 degrees 30 minutes. From east to west it lay between the 96th meridian which passes through or near White-mouth and 99th which runs near Gladstone and Crystal City. In 1881 these boundaries were extended to include 116,000 square miles, but owing to legal difficulties with Ontario this was reduced considerably. In its new form Manitoba extended northward nearly to latitude 53. The new limits were placed 50 miles further east and about 130 miles further west. The total area was thus increased more than five times, but one-eighth of the whole being water, the total land area approximated 64,000 square miles, which is about the same size as Great Britain. For a period of over 30 years there was no further extension. In 1912 the northern boundary was extended to the Bay. Manitoba now occupies 251,832 square miles of territory, an area twice the size of Italy.

The broad and fertile prairies which lay within these boundaries determined the general trend of the economic life of the new province. But there is nothing surprising in the fact that from an early period in its history Manitoba aspired to the rank of a Maritime Province and to the possession of the great northern hinterland, rich in mineral wealth, through which during more than a century traders have carried their merchandise to the Bay. A railway to Hudson's Bay was prosperously begun before the outbreak of the War. That event put a stop to further construction for the time, but work was resumed later and the long cherished project is at last achieved. Naturally, too, every citizen of the Province has cherished the hope that the Province itself would some day be raised from its subordinate status and become a Province of equal rank with New Brunswick, or British Columbia, or Prince Edward Island. That hope is being realized this year.





THE BUFFALO HUNT

